DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 165 169 CS 204 642

AUTHOR Poindexter, Paula M.; Stroman, Carolyn A.
TITLE The Black Press and the Bakke Case: An Analysis of Coverage.
PUB DATE Aug 78
NOTE 21p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism (61st, Seattle, Washington, August 13-16, 1978)

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 HC-$1.67 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Black Attitudes; Black Leadership; Content Analysis; Editorials; Journalism; Media Research; *Newspapers; *News Reporting; *Press Opinion; Racial Discrimination; *Reverse Discrimination; Social Problems; *Supreme Court Litigation
IDENTIFIERS *Bakke v Regents of University of California

ABSTRACT

The content of four black newspapers was analyzed to determine how they covered the "Regents of the University of California v. Bakke" case, in which the Supreme Court ruled against rigid race quota programs such as the one that had prevented Allan Bakke, a white man, from being admitted to medical school. Each issue of the four newspapers--the New York "Amsterdam News," the "Los Angeles Sentinel," the "Atlanta Daily World," and the "Chicago Defender"--was examined during the ten-month period preceding the argument of the case before the Supreme Court and during the period immediately following the June 1978 decision. Among the findings were that the coverage of the Bakke case was scarce; that after the Supreme Court ruling the "Amsterdam News" far exceeded other newspapers in the amount and type of coverage, while the "Sentinel" and the "World" continued to give little attention to the case; that coverage was event-oriented rather than issue-oriented; that, while most editorials took a definite anti-Bakke stand, some took no position in the controversy; that relevant letters to the editor were almost nonexistent; and that most articles did not receive front-page or prominent coverage. The findings suggest that today's black press is a chronicler, rather than an interpreter, of issues and events affecting the black community. (GT)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED165169

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

THE BLACK PRESS AND THE BAKKE CASE:

AN ANALYSIS OF COVERAGE

by

Paula M. Poindexter
Communications Research Center
S.I. Newhouse School of Public Communications
Syracuse University

Carolyn A. Stroman
Social Science Program
Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs
Syracuse University

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Paula M. Poindexter
Carolyn A. Stroman

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC) AND USERS OF THE ERIC SYSTEM."

Presented to the Minorities and Communication Division, Association for Education in Journalism Annual Convention, Seattle, Washington, August 1978.

CS203642

THE BLACK PRESS AND THE BAKKE CASE:

AN ANALYSIS OF COVERAGE

Regents of the University of California v. Bakke has been called one of the most insidious threats to minority progress in the past quarter century. For the Black Press, Regents of the University of California v. Bakke may not only be the most insidious threat, it may also be the biggest and most important news story to break in the present decade.[1]

How did the Black Press report the story--the case of a white male claiming he was a victim of discrimination? Because of the potential negative impact of Bakke on education and jobs for blacks, it was expected that the Black Press would carry a significant amount of news and analysis on the story. Because the Black Press should be interested in helping its readers develop informed opinions about the case and the implications attached to it, it was expected that extensive news and editorial space would be devoted to the "reverse discrimination" suit. It was also expected that the Black Press would pay close attention to the story because of the irony involved in a white male claiming he was a victim of race discrimination. Up until recently that claim had been the exclusive domain of blacks.

Regents of the University of California v. Bakke is about a white male in his mid-30's who was denied admission to the University of California, Davis Medical School, while 16 minority students were admitted via a special admissions program. Allan Bakke, thinking the minority students were less qualified than he, charged reverse discrimination and sued the University. The California Supreme Court ruled in favor of Bakke. The University of California filed a countersuit.

Sympathizers in support of Bakke's claim argued "quotas" were unconstitutional while opponents counterargued race could indeed be considered in professional school admissions criteria without violating the constitution.

Eventually, the United States Supreme Court agreed to hear arguments representing both constitutional points of view. With the Supreme Court entering the arena, Bakke opponents predicted a negative ruling followed by a white backlash. Blacks access to professional schools, good jobs and decent housing would be halted, opponents prophesized. The U.S. Supreme Court heard oral arguments on Regents of the University of California v. Bakke, October 12, 1977.

Eight months later, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that Allan Bakke must be admitted to the University of California, Davis Medical School. In its June 28, 1978 decision, the Supreme Court upheld race sensitive affirmative action programs but outlawed rigid race quota programs.

How did the Black Press report the Bakke story and the decision? In an effort to provide answers to this question, news and editorial content were analyzed. Four subsidiary research questions guided the analysis: How much coverage was devoted to the Bakke case? What types of news stories were provided? What positions did editorials, opinion columns and headlines take? Was the Bakke case played up or down in its placement on the various news pages?

Through providing answers to the above questions, this study will contribute to our limited knowledge of the present-day function of the Black Press. In the earlier literature on the Black Press, the protest function was inevitably emphasized. However, in "The Black Press in Transition," it was suggested that the Black Press has "lost its penchant for protest,"[2] and a recent query of editors of the Black Press revealed that the majority of them felt that the purpose of the Black Press was to inform.[3] If protest is no longer the major purpose of the Black Press, what is its function today? This study uses the Black

Press's coverage of Regents of the University of California v. Bakke as one indication of the function of the Black Press.

Methodology

In order to provide answers to the research questions, four black newspapers were selected for their coverage of the Bakke case. Two of the papers, the New York Amsterdam News (circulation, 67,000) and the Los Angeles Sentinel (33,000) are weeklies, the remaining two, the Atlanta Daily World (23,000) and the Chicago Defender (22,000) are dailies.

These four newspapers were selected on the basis of the following criteria: (1) length of time established; (2) the size of the black population in the city located; (3) geographical location; and (4) frequency of publication.

The first phase of this study covers the time period January 1 to October 31, 1977. This time period was chosen in an effort to capture the emergence, subsequent buildup and decline of the case on the Black Press' agenda before and after it was argued before the Supreme Court on October 12, 1977.

The second phase of this study covers the period immediately following the announcement of the Supreme Court's decision. Black Press coverage of this decision was examined in the issues published after June 28th, the day the decision was made public. Two issues of each weekly newspaper and three issues of each daily paper were content analyzed for coverage of the Supreme Court's decision on Regents of the University of California v. Bakke.

Each issue of the four newspapers was searched for news stories, editorials, opinion columns, letters to the editor, and photographs with cutlines devoted primarily to a discussion of the case.[4]

After it was determined that an item qualified for inclusion in the study, it was coded as follows:

1. Type. Whether the article was a hard news article, backgrounder, editorial, opinion column, etc. Hard news was operationalized as news of the day. Background was operationalized as news which goes beyond superficial spot reporting.

2. Play. Whether the article appeared on the front page, editorial page, op-ed page, or other page.

3. Position. Whether it appeared above or below the fold.

4. Headline direction. Whether the headline's content was pro-Bakke, anti-Bakke, or neutral. Pro-Bakke headlines favored Bakke's admission to medical school or were against affirmative action programs, e.g., "Let Bakke In." Anti-Bakke headlines opposed Bakke's medical school admission or were in favor of affirmative action and special admissions programs, e.g., "High Court Urged to Reject Claim of Reverse Bias Case." Neutral headlines were simple statements of fact; they did not take a position in either direction, e.g., "'Reverse Discrimination' Case Goes to High Court."

5. Editorial position. Whether an editorial, opinion column, or letter to the editor was pro-Bakke, anti-Bakke, or neutral.[5]

6. Potential effects of Bakke. Whether the Supreme Court's decision in the Bakke case was reported to affect opportunities for blacks in institutions of higher learning, employment, housing, and civil rights legislation in general.

In addition, each news article was placed into one of the following subject categories: (1) The Supreme Court's hearing of the Case and briefs filed with the Supreme Court; (2) Protest demonstrations against Bakke; (3) Black Officials and Organizations speaking out on Bakke; (4) Special Interest Groups commenting on Bakke; (5) Background on the participants in the case; (6) Special Admissions Programs; and (7) The Carter Administration's stand on the Bakke Case.

Each item's length was recorded in column inches including the space occupied by the headline. Illustrations were counted and measured when the cut-line accompanying them indicated they referred to the Bakke case.

Since the papers varied in size, column inches were converted to a standard six column inch base.

Coding of the data was done by two graduate students. Intercoder reliability was .95.[6]

Findings - Phase I

The newspapers were examined for articles on the Bakke case from the first of January through the end of October, 1977. During that period, 99 articles, editorials and commentaries totaling 1,567 column inches were published. Sixty-one of the stories were printed during the 9½ months preceding the October 12th Supreme Court hearing. Three articles were published on the day of the arguments and 32 were printed during the two and a half weeks following the Supreme Court arguments. It should be noted that the peak of the Bakke coverage occurred the week of the hearing.

Approximately half of the articles on the Bakke case were hard news; one-fifth were opinion columns and slightly more than one-tenth were editorials. As Table 1 shows, the remaining Bakke coverage consisted of background stories, letters to the editor and photo-illustrations.

Most of the hard news articles were on four topics: (1) the Supreme Court hearing of the case and briefs filed with the Supreme Court; (2) Black Officials and Organizations speaking out on Bakke; (3) Protest demonstrations against Bakke; and (4) Special Interest Groups commenting on Bakke. These four subjects accounted for 80 percent of the articles. The Carter Administration's stand on the Bakke case, the special admissions programs and background information on the participants in the case accounted for the other one-fifth of the stories. (See Table 2.)

Table 1
Type of Article

	%
Hard News	48
Opinion Columns	21
Editorials	14
Pictures	8
Background	6
Letters to the Editor	3
	100% (99)

Table 2
Subject of Articles

	%
Supreme Court	22
Protest Demonstrations	20
Black Officials	20
Special Interest Groups	18
Carter Administration	11
Background	5
Special Admissions	4
	100% (55)

Editorials, opinion columns and letters to the editor were examined to determine if they were for Bakke, against Bakke or neutral on Bakke. It was expected that all of the Black Press commentary would take a position against Bakke, but, as Table 3 demonstrates, one-fifth of the commentaries did not take a position on either side of the controversy. There was one published commentary in favor of Bakke.

Table 3
Editorial Position[7]

	%
Pro-Bakke	3
Anti-Bakke	77
Neutral	20
	100%
	(39)

In the tradition of Anglo-American journalism, most (two-thirds) of the headlines on the Bakke reports were neutral. One-third were unfavorable and two headlines were on Bakke's side.

Another way of studying how a newspaper covers a story is to examine how the story is played in the newspaper. Is the story placed on a page that has high readership or low readership? Does the story get a lot or small amount of space? Are large headlines and pictures used to attract attention? Is the story placed above or below the fold? Stories that get the most attention are usually on the front page, and above the fold with a large headline and picture.

Surprisingly most of the stories on Bakke in the four newspapers studied were not on the front page. Half of the stories were on a "low-play" page and one-fifth were on the editorial page. The front page and op-ed page each had 15 articles. (See Table 4.)

Table 4
Page Placement of Story

	%
Front Page	15
Editorial Page	21
Op-Ed Page	15
"Other" Page	48
	100% (99)

The newspapers had no preference for the amount of space reserved for Bakke articles. They were just as likely to print a short as a medium as a long article.[8]

There were differences in the number of columns devoted to a headline. Less than half of the Bakke stories received two column heads. Thirteen of the 99 stories, the editors felt, rated six-column headlines.

Photographs and illustrations are editorial devices used to attract attention to articles. This editorial device was virtually ignored in the stories on the Bakke case. Only 7 of the 99 stories printed were accompanied by pictures.

Placing a story above the fold is another editorial attention device. This device, unlike the photographs, was used extensively. Three-fourths of the stories on Bakke were placed above the fold.

Regional Newspapers

The newspapers in the study were selected to represent the standard four regions of the U.S.: East, West, Midwest and South. Because of regional differences, it was expected that there would be variations in the amount and type of coverage. Regional variations were found. The Atlanta Daily World representing the South was the most different.

In terms of volume coverage, the Chicago Defender carried the most material with 771 column inches devoted to the Bakke case; the New York Amsterdam News was second with 338 column inches; and the Los Angeles Sentinel was third with 278 column inches. The Atlanta Daily World carried the least amount of material, 180 column inches.[9]

Table 5 shows the percentage of articles devoted to each type of article in each of the four newspapers. As indicated in the table, the World was most likely to carry a hard news item, followed by the Sentinel. The Amsterdam News and the Sentinel were more likely to carry opinion columns, with the World being least likely. Editorial commentary, as well as background information on the case, was limited in all of the papers, however, the Defender was most likely to carry an editorial. What is striking is that the World did not carry any editorials pertaining to the Bakke case. Letters to the editor and pictorial illustrations were also limited, but when they were run, it was more likely that the Defender or the Sentinel would use them.

Table 5
Type of Articles
A Comparison of the Four Newspapers

	New York Amsterdam News	Chicago Defender	Los Angeles Sentinel	Atlanta Daily World
	%	%	%	%
Hard News	39	38	50	92
Opinion Columns	44	12	30	8
Editorials	11	23	5	0
Pictures	6	10	10	0
Background	0	12	0	0
Letters to the Editor	0	4	5	0
	100% (18)	100% (48)	100% (20)	100% (13)

The papers showed some similarities and some differences in their subject-matter emphasis in news stories. The Amsterdam News, the Sentinel and the World emphasized the Supreme Court's hearing of the case. The Defender, the Sentinel and the World also emphasized black leaders and organizations reactions to the case. The Sentinel and the Defender emphasized protest demonstrations against Bakke. The major differences were the Amsterdam News' emphasis of the Carter administration's role in the case, and the World's emphasis of special interest groups.

Regarding editorial position, all of the papers were decidedly anti-Bakke in tone. However, the Defender differed from the other papers in that it carried a number of neutral editorials and opinion columns and one pro-Bakke letter.

Unlike the anti-Bakke stance taken in their editorial columns, three of the newspapers were neutral in the tone of their headline content. The World was most likely to have anti-Bakke headlines. (See Table 6.) The Sentinel was far ahead of the others in the percentage of neutral editorials carried. Again, the Defender exhibited differences by carrying pro-Bakke headlines.

Table 6
Headline Direction

	New York Amsterdam News	Chicago Defender	Los Angeles Sentinel	Atlanta Daily World
	%	%	%	%
Pro-Bakke	0	4	0	0
Anti-Bakke	41	29	11	62
Neutral	59	67	89	38
	100% (17)	100% (48)	100% (18)	100% (13)

The play (as measured by page location) given the case by each of the four newspapers is reported in Table 7. From this table, it is clear that the World was the only paper which gave the Bakke case substantial front page coverage. The Defender, which placed the fewest Bakke articles on the front page, was most likely to carry an article on the editorial page. Finally, the Amsterdam News was most likely to place its articles on the op-ed page.

Table 7
Page Placement of Story

	New York Amsterdam News	Chicago Defender	Los Angeles Sentinel	Atlanta Daily World
	%	%	%	%
Front Page	17	2	15	62
"Other" Page	22	65	45	31
Editorial	17	31	10	8
Op-Ed	44	2	30	0
	100% (18)	100% (48)	100% (20)	101% (13)

The individual newspapers were also different in the length of articles they carried. The Sentinel was most likely to carry short stories, the Defender, medium and the Amsterdam News, long stories.

As mentioned previously, photographs and illustrations were used sparingly. However, it should be noted that the Amsterdam News carried six of the seven illustrations appearing in this sample of newspapers.

The papers are similar in their belief that most of the material pertaining to the Bakke case warranted above-the-fold placement, with Chicago carrying 88 percent of its stories above the fold.

When a potential effect of the Bakke case was mentioned, it was most likely to be the Sentinel to emphasize the case's potential effects on educational institutions, or the Amsterdam News to emphasize Bakke's effects on employment opportunities for blacks.

Daily and Weekly Newspaper Coverage

If for no other reason than differences in frequency of publication, daily and weekly newspapers are expected to be different. To see if differences existed between the daily Black Press and weekly Black Press, the dailies the Chicago Defender and Atlanta Daily World were compared with the weeklies the Los Angeles Sentinel and the New York Amsterdam News.

The daily newspapers were slightly more likely than the weeklies to carry hard news stories on the Bakke case. Half of the daily stories were hard news compared to two-fifths of the weekly stories. Opinion columns were more likely to be found in the weekly newspapers, but editorials were more likely to be found in the daily press. As Table 8 shows, only the daily newspapers carried backgrounders. The dailies and weeklies carried the same proportion of letters to the editor and pictures.

Table 8
Type of Article
A Daily and Weekly Comparison

	Daily	Weekly
	%	%
Hard News	49	45
Editorial	18	8
Opinion Column	12	37
Background	10	0
Picture	8	8
Letters to the Editor	3	3
	100% (61)	100% (38)

As Table 9 demonstrates, weekly newspapers were much more likely to take an anti-Bakke stand in their editorials than daily newspapers. Almost all of the weekly editorials were against Bakke while fewer than two-thirds of the daily newspapers took an anti-Bakke stand. Daily newspapers were much more likely to be in a neutral position than weekly newspapers.

Table 9
Editorial Position

	Daily	Weekly
	%	%
Pro-Bakke	5	0
Anti-Bakke	62	94
Neutral	33	6
	100% (21)	100% (18)

How did the dailies compare with the weeklies in positioning Bakke articles in the newspaper? Dailies and weeklies ran about the same proportion of stories on the front page. Dailies, however, were much more likely to select a "low play" page than were weeklies. Over half of the Bakke stories in the dailies were on low readership pages while only one-third of weekly stories were on low readership pages.

Weekly newspapers were more likely to run very short or very long articles on Bakke, while daily newspapers were more likely to use medium stories. To draw attention to stories, weekly newspapers used pictures but daily papers did not.

Preliminary Findings - Phase II

Immediately after the Supreme Court's decision was announced, the Black Press published 35 articles or nine hundred and nine column inches about the Bakke ruling. As Table 10 shows, the Amsterdam News devoted the most space to the ruling while the Los Angeles Sentinel devoted the least. In Phase I of the study, the Chicago Defender had led in the quantity of coverage on the Bakke case and the Amsterdam News had ranked second.

Table 10
Summary of Coverage of the Supreme Court Ruling

	New York Amsterdam News	Chicago Defender	Los Angeles Sentinel	Atlanta Daily World
Column Inches	506	248	68	87
Total Number of Articles	17	9	4	5
Type of Articles				
Hard News Stories	0	3	1	1
Background Stories	9	4	3	2
Editorial	2	1	0	1
Opinion	6	0	0	0
Letters to Editor	0	0	0	1
Editorial Cartoon	0	1	0	0
Placement				
Front Page	6	1	2	3
Editorial	4	2	0	1
Op-Ed Page	4	0	0	1
Other Page	3	6	2	0

In addition to amount of coverage, the Amsterdam News also had the largest variety of coverage, offering a greater amount of opinion and commentary than the other three newspapers. Surprisingly, the Los Angeles Sentinel did not carry any editorials after the ruling was announced. In Phase I, leading up to the arguments before the Court, the Atlanta World had failed to carry any editorials, but the Sentinel had carried one.

Consistency between the coverage of the Supreme Court arguments in October 1977 and the Supreme Court ruling eight months later is evident when the placement of stories is examined. The Amsterdam News gave high visibility to the Bakke decision by placing most of its articles on the front page or on the editorial and op-ed pages. The Chicago Defender, as before, was more likely to bury articles about the Bakke ruling on traditionally low readership pages.

How the four newspapers reported the first announcement of the Bakke decision to its readers sheds light on the attitude of the Black Press toward the case and the relationship of the Black Press to its readers.

The New York Amsterdam News in its headline emphasized the defeat suffered by black people with its selection of the words: "Bakke: We Lose!!"

The Atlanta Daily World played up the victory for black people in the Supreme Court ruling with "High Court Upholds Right to Remedy Race Disadvantage in Ruling in Favor of Bakke."

The Chicago Defender emphasized Bakke's personal triumph with "Bakke Wins."

The Los Angeles Sentinel focused on the reaction to the ruling with "Supreme Court Ruling Draws Fire."

It should be noted here that reactions of black leaders appeared to be the mainstay of coverage following the Supreme Court's decision.

Summary and Conclusions

In the 389 issues examined for Phase I of this study, there were ninety-nine stories on the Bakke case. This amounts to an average of 10 stories per month or an average of two and a half stories per month per individual paper. The Defender, which published the largest number of articles, averaged only five stories per month for the period studied. The Atlanta Daily World, which published the fewest number of Bakke articles of the papers examined, averaged

fewer than one and a half articles per month. In other words, the coverage of the Bakke case in these newspapers was scarce.

The preliminary analysis of the second phase of this study seemingly indicates that only one black newspaper came out in full force after the announcement of the Supreme Court's ruling. The New York Amsterdam News far exceeded other newspapers in the amount and type of coverage. Again, the Los Angeles Sentinel and the Atlanta Daily World were disappointingly negligent in their attention to the Bakke case. The Chicago Defender devoted a great deal of space to the story; however, it ran these stories as it did earlier ones, on low readership pages. This raises a serious question about the Chicago Defender's role as an information medium in the black community.

What would a reader of a composite newspaper made up of the four newspapers in this study have found out about the Bakke case? Readers would have obtained a chronology of news events related to the case. For example, readers would have been informed when the Carter Administration took a position on the case, when a brief was filed with the Supreme Court, when an anti-Bakke rally was held, when the Supreme Court decision was handed down, etc. In other words, coverage was event-oriented. Readers would have learned very little about the background of the case except superficial facts.

The reader would have had an opportunity to read many editorials taking a definite anti-Bakke stand. But the reader would also have been exposed to some editorials in which the newspaper only discussed the discrimination case without taking a position on either side of the controversy.

The reader would not have had the opportunity to find out how other Black Press readers felt about the Allan Bakke case. Letters to the Editor, a standard channel for reader view points, were virtually non-existent. Black readers neither debated nor protested the Allan Bakke reverse discrimination case on the pages traditionally designed for them.

In general, the reader would not have found many articles on the front pages of the newspaper; most of the articles in this composite newspaper would have been found on low readership pages. In addition, while most of the articles would have been highly placed, they would have had small, neutral headlines and no accompanying pictures.

Considering the amount, type and placement of the articles, it can probably be concluded that a Black Press reader, in order to be informed about the Bakke case, would have had to systematically read every issue from front to back to find articles on the Bakke case. And then the reader would only have been knowledgeable about chronological accounting of events leading up to the case--not the substantive issues surrounding it.

In the introduction, it was suggested that the protest function long associated with the Black Press has declined over the years. Judging from these newspapers' low key coverage of this important issue, it seems relatively clear that the strong protest stance, once highly evident in black newspapers, is being replaced by a neutral, objective tone. This raises anew the question posed in the introduction: If protest is no longer the major purpose of the Black Press, what is its present-day function? It appears from this study that the Black Press' role today is one of chronicler, rather than interpreter, of issues and events affecting the black community.

The fact that the largest percentage of articles were event-oriented appears to indicate that these black newspapers are more concerned about covering specific events than about detailed coverage of the underlying dynamics of an issue. Future studies should examine the content of the Black Press with an eye toward determining if its tendency to only chronicle pressing social issues facing black people is diminishing its ability to report in-depth on these issues, and thereby reducing its function in and usefulness to the Black community it serves.

NOTES

1. Kenneth S. Tollett, "The Bakke Case Primer," (Washington, D.C.: Institute for the Study of Educational Policy, Howard University, 1977), p. 1.

2. L. F. Palmer, Jr., "The Black Press in Transition," Columbia Journalism Review, 9:31-36 (1970).

3. Henry LaBrie and William Zima, "Directional Quandries of the Black Press," Journalism Quarterly, 48:640-641, 651 (1971).

4. Because we were unable to obtain copies of the daily edition of the Chicago Defender published from January to May, 1977, the week-end edition only was examined for that period.

5. Editorial Direction is defined in Richard Budd, Robert Thorp, and Lewis Donohew, Content Analysis of Communications (New York: MacMillan, 1967), pp. 50-54.

6. The formula used in computing the coefficient of reliability was:

$$C.R. = \frac{2M}{N_1 + N_2}$$

Where M is the number of coding decisions on which the coders agreed, and $N_1 + N_2$ refers to the number of coding decisions made by the two coders.

This formula is discussed in Ole Holsti, Content Analysis for the Social Sciences and Humanities, (Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Pub. Co., 1969), p. 140.

7. Opinion commentaries and letters to the editor are included in the analysis.

8. Short was operationally defined as eleven inches or less, medium as twelve to seventeen inches, and long as eighteen to forty-four inches. The manner in which the data clustered suggested these three breaking points.

9. In Richard Budd, "U.S. News in the Press Down Under," Public Opinion Quarterly, 28:35-56 (1964), it was pointed out that the item count correlates highly with the column inch as a form of measurement. In this study, we found Spearman rank-order correlations ranging from .80 (Table 5) to 1.00 (Table 10) between the item count and column inches as measures of amount of coverage. This finding is important for researchers who employ content analysis as a research tool in examining the Black and majority press.